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SOVIET OR PARLIAMENT

Statement of Executive Committee of the Third International.

The ever-growing revolutionary movement in all the countries of the world has made it imperative to take, once and for all, a definite attitude towards the question of Parliamentarism.

All the revolutionary forces in France, America, England and Germany, forced by the necessities of the class war, become more and more involved in the Communist movement and accept more and more the programme of the Soviet system. Anarcho-Socialist bodies and those individuals who till now claimed to be orthodox Anarchists, mix themselves up with the others in the general current.

The Executive Committee of the Third International welcomes this most cordially.

In France, the Syndicalist groups, under the leadership of Comrade Pericot, amalgamated with the Communists; in America and partly in England the Industrial Workers of the World engage in the struggle for the establishment of the Soviets. These groups have, up till now, been opposed to Parliamentary action. Then again those elements which have appeared in the Socialist parties and who believe in Parliamentary action—such as the group of Loriot in France, members of the American Socialist Party, the S.L.P. and B.S.P., and a section of the I.L.P. in England—have gone over to the Communists. All these bodies which have joined with the Communists, and others which will follow suit in the future, require a common plan of action. This question must be settled. The Executive Committee of the Communist International therefore sends to all fraternal bodies this circular, which is entirely devoted to the consideration of the problem. The main point in our common programme is that the chief feature of the Soviet System—the dictatorship of the proletariat—should have general recognition and support. History has already drawn a definite line between the revolutionaries and the opportunists, between Communists and social traitors of all tints and descriptions.

The so-called "Centre" are, in spite of all their solemn views, practically non-Socialist so long as they oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviets. On the contrary, the groups which have up till now opposed every kind of political action (as the Anarchists) have joined with the Communists in the fight for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

Here is, we repeat, the general plan of the fight for the establishment of the Soviets. The old points of view of the international proletariat have become obsolete. The World War created new ideas. Several anarchists and syndicalists who always repudiated Parliamentarism behaved during the five years of war as the old leaders of the official Social Democracy, who traitorously kept the name of Marx on their lips, but at the same time sold the working class most ignominiously into the power of their exploiters. The forces are concentrating in two camps. One is for supporting the revolutionary movement of the working class, the Soviet dictatorship, mass action, the armed insurrection; the other is against it. These are the symptoms of the present time. These are the main facts. They are the cause of the division and re-division of the social forces. What is the difference between Sovietism and Parliamentarism? They are two questions which logically have nothing in common. One seeks to change the present system constitutionally through Parliament, the other to use Parliamentarism for overthrowing the Parliament, and for speeding up the coming of the revolution. Very often comrades confuse these two things unnecessarily and dangerously interfere with the course of the raging struggle. Let us discuss both these questions thoroughly and come to a firm conclusion. Is it possible to identify the Soviet System with Parliamentarism? No, a thousand times no. It is impossible because Parliament is a weapon of bourgeois class rule. Representatives, House of Commons, the

Capitalist Press, the secret treaties of M.P.'s with bankers—all these are chains for the working class. They must be broken. The machinery must be shattered and in its stead must be built up the order, the union of the workers, their Parliament, the Soviets. Only the most execrable traitors to the working class can assure them that the social change can come peacefully, by gradual concessions and Parliamentary reforms. Those individuals are the most inveterate and dangerous enemies of the working class, and against them a most relentless fight must be waged. Any kind of agreements, compromises, or alliances with them cannot be tolerated. Therefore, it is our duty to say to the whole capitalist world: Down with Parliament! Long live the Soviets! The Social Revolution has come to such a point that the workers must act quickly and resolutely, and not allow their class enemies to penetrate into their camp. Only the Councils of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers, selected in mills, workshops, villages, and barracks can lead the working class in the Social Revolution.

The bourgeois State, its Kings, Presidents, Parliaments, Constituent Assemblies, etc., are our deadly enemies and must be crushed.

Let us now discuss the other question: is it permissible to use bourgeois Parliamentarism for the precipitation of the class struggle? The Russian Bolsheviks sent their representatives to the Constituent Assembly. They were there only 24 hours, and coming out from the Session Hall proclaimed that the Constituent Assembly was dissolved. The Bolshevik Party was represented also in the Tsarist Duma. Did they recognise the Duma as an ideal representative body? Of course not. They sent their representatives into the Duma to attack even inside of that institution the autocracy of the Tsar, and to pull down at the same time the authority of the Duma itself. Not for fun did the Tsarist Government punish the "wicked" Bolsheviks, the enemies of "Law and Order," and the "traitors to their country" by penal servitude in Siberian prisons and mines. The Bolsheviks attacked Tsarism on the whole front, pretending at the same time to be constitutionalists and Parliamentarians. Similar parliamentary tactics were practised elsewhere. Remember Germany and Comrade Liebknecht. This comrade of ours was the real incarnation of revolution. Was there anything non-revolutionary in his preaching the idea of the armed insurrection to the soldiers and sailors from the pulpit of the German Reichstag? Quite the contrary. He fully utilised the opportunities of Parliament. If Liebknecht had not been the representative he would not have had the chance to do that, and his voice would not have had an echo as it now has. The work of our Swedish comrades in their Parliament gives a new support to our words. Comrade Hoglund played the same part in Sweden as Liebknecht in Germany. Utilising Parliament, he precipitated the collapse of Parliamentarism. Nobody has ever done more in Sweden for the revolution than he. The same facts repeat themselves in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Communists also used the pulpit of Parliament for the propagation of the ideas of the Communist Revolution. In the last election they got 47 representatives. Comrades Blagojev, Kirkov, and others know how to utilise the Parliamentary pulpit for the propaganda of the proletarian revolution. A similar Parliamentary work requires a special courage and a truly revolutionary spirit. Being inside the hostile camp they drop mines in the way of their enemies. They go into Parliament in order to get into closest touch with its machinery and then put spokes in its wheels. Are we the supporters of bourgeois Parliamentarism, will we change the present system constitutionally and by reform? Not at all. We are the supporters of the Soviets. We will use the Parliaments only for the propagation of our Communist ideas, and, being strong enough, we will pull down all together with all their "democratism."

We know very well that neither in France, America, nor England, have they had capable working-class representatives in the Parliaments. The reason is that in these countries there have been very few individuals who could be said to resemble the Russian Bolsheviks or the German Spartacists. If such elements increase in numbers and strength, everything may get changed. At first it is necessary: (1) The centre of gravity of the struggle must be outside of parliaments (strikes, revolts, insurrections, etc.); (2) The struggle inside the parliaments must be closely connected with the struggle outside; (3) The representatives must take part in general organisation work; (4) The representatives must act by directions of the Central Committee, and be responsible to it; (5) They must not conform to the Parliamentary manners and customs.

The Russian Bolsheviks boycotted the elections for the Duma in 1906, but they took part in the elections to the second Duma, coming, meanwhile, to the conclusion that the bourgeoisie and big land-owners would rule for many years. In the early spring of 1918, half the Spartacist Party took part in the elections to the German Reichstag, another half opposed, but at the same time the whole of the Spartacists forms the nucleus of the communist Party. On principle we cannot refuse to utilise parliaments for our profit. The Russian Bolsheviks, being in power in spring, 1918, made a special declaration that the Russians might be forced once more to use Parliamentarism if extraordinary circumstances enabled the bourgeoisie to regain power.

We have to state again that the most vital part of the struggle must be outside of Parliament—on the street. It is clear that the most effective weapons of the workers against capitalism are: the strike, the revolt, armed insurrection. Comrades have to keep in mind the following: Organisation of the Party, instalment of Party groups in the trade unions, leadership of the masses, revolutionary agitation among the masses, etc. Parliamentary activities and participation in elections must be used only as a secondary measure—no more.

Revolutionary practice has shown this to be the best and most rational programme. The prostitution of Parliament has already gone so far that even Right wing comrades are coming back to their class-consciousness. The current of the Social revolution carries them to us. We give our approval, therefore, to every individual, group or party who sympathise with the Soviet System and has the courage to fight for it. We ask them to join with us and with united forces to wage war against our unscrupulous enemies.

Let the supporters of the Soviets and dictatorship of the proletariat employ forthwith all their energies in a great, powerful Communist Party.

With Communist greetings,
The Executive Committee of the Third
International.
Chairman, G. ZINOVIEV.

A.S.P. HALL
LIVERPOOL STREET, CITY.

Sunday, July 4th, A. WILSON, Organiser W.I.L.U.
The Foundation of Society

Thursday July 8th, DEBATE
Mr. F. E. PULSFORD V A. S. REARDON

"That it is in the interests of the wage earning class, that they give their whole hearted support to the Co-operative Movement"

The International Socialist

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

RAY EVERITT Managing Editor.

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Changing Human Nature.

Time-worn though the argument be, it is still asserted that socialism is an "impossible dream" for the sole reason that human nature does not want socialism to-day, and "you can't change human nature." Exactly what those who make such statements mean, and they are heard almost daily, is difficult to know, but the point that they have in mind is that the nature of the human being is something fixed, that was created in man at one stroke and that the words "development" and "evolution" are altogether inapplicable to this thing they call "human nature." It is neither possible for it to grow, nor be moulded by conscious man. Realising, therefore, that Socialism would mean an entirely reconstructed social order, it is obvious to these good folk that the human nature of to-day would be, like fish out of water, unable to exist in a new environment. By such a mental contortion as this, Socialism is proved impossible.

It is not necessary to stress the point that such highly thoughtful persons have no knowledge of Socialism, beyond believing that it is intended to take one suit of clothes—capitalism—from society and dress the same old body in a new one—Socialism. The same idea that human nature just happened into its present state is applied to Socialism, which would also happen into existence at the will of a bunch of fanatics. In short, their whole outlook cannot be justified by reference to the facts of history.

The first meetings of white men with the Australian blacks and with the American Redskins show that their outlook—their nature—differed greatly from that which they possess to-day. Neither the Red Indians nor the blacks had any of the notions, or vices peculiar to modern civilization when discovered. The North American Indians knew nothing of that blessed thing, private property; and it is only to-day the idea is taking a firm root in their minds. Nor had they any knowledge of "fire-water," the love of which had to be acquired from Europeans. In general, it is to be realised that the savage has a different mentality from the civilized man, and that the Babylonian slave, the feudal serf, the twentieth century miner each has a "nature" that presents features that make each easily distinguishable. Again, the outlooks of the early Victorian and those of to-day, but ninety years later, present the most striking contrasts. Thus, a mere superficial glance at history show us that human nature, the intellect, has only reached its present state after a long and constant growth.

The prevalence of the idea that human nature cannot be changed is, of course, easily understood, when it is considered that the preservation of the present system is a necessary work of the masters of the day, who, being masters, are enabled to order their mental slaves to justify their system on all possible grounds, moral and judicial, and to show that it must continue through all eternity.

It is one of the tasks of the proletarian philosophy completely to overthrow all these notions of the bourgeoisie. For the revolutionary it is a duty to rid himself of all bourgeois thoughts. Where this is not done we see the bourgeois affiliations of the persons in question, and thus we have a certain Ben Turner, a member of the British delegation to Soviet Russia stating that

"The idealism of the Bolsheviks is very good, but it is impossible to change human nature by decree. I believe that they will win through in certain direc-

THE Revolutionary Outlook

By MARCIA.

German Sentiment.

"Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise," perhaps that is the reason that after four years of repudiation of German people, German names, German music and literature, while the very statue of the King's grandfather has been veiled and the capitalist Press is still carrying on a crusade against anything German, while that great actor, Mr. Oscar Asche, has announced his intention to bar from his theatrical productions anything of a German character and is consequently patted on the back in the columns of the jingo papers; in spite of all this, for the last four weeks in Australia, we have had flouted before our faces in every direction, the crest of the Prince of Wales with its three feathers, and its German "Ich Dien."

Whether those responsible for its prominence are ignorant or whether they are counting on the ignorance of the mob matters little. Either way it is a joke; in so far as it shows the absurdity of the whole situation.

If they don't know, it only proves how ignorant they are; and if they do know it shows their hypocrisy.

However, the crowning touch to the whole business, is the fact that those responsible for the decorations at Tooth's Brewery decided in their wisdom or folly to turn the motto beneath the feathers into a Welsh one, consequently it reads "Eich Dyn," which really is a good imitation of Welsh. It might be permissible to leave the words out altogether; but to try to convert them into Welsh is a little too tall, seeing that about the first thing taught in infant schools is the origin of the "Prince of Wales' feathers."

However, the whole affair merely goes to show how the master class twist and turn to suit their own ends; preach against everything German if they so desire, use it, if on the other hand it serves their purpose.

So far as we are concerned, it is for us to comfort the ignorance of the workers by showing the folly of National Sentiment whether it be German or British.

For us, the working class of the world against the capitalist class of the world; nationality or color matters nothing, the only thing that counts is the final effort which means a world's revolution and the freeing forever of the world's proletariat class.

SOFT JOBS.

Australia is to have a new Governor-General in the person of Lord Forster, who takes the place of Sir

tions, but they will not establish communism for a generation or two."

The Communist leaders of Russia have never proposed to alter either the conditions, still less human nature by decree. In his writings of Russia Arthur Ransome lays considerable stress on this point, and quotes the opinions of many of the prominent men, for example, Bucharin, editor of the party paper "Pravda," as saying that two generations will probably elapse before communism will exist in a complete form.

Furthermore, being Marxists, the Russian Communists know that "man's character is the product, on the one hand, of heredity, on the other, of the environment of the individual during his lifetime, especially during the period of development, and that any attempt to give Russia a new set of thoughts, as same Ben Turner would credit them with doing, would be sheer foolishness. Similarly, any attempt to "establish socialism overnight" would lead to their immediate dismissal from power and brand them as ignoramuses of those things—social historical things—which they claim to understand.

Socialism can only come into being through a gradual process, the length of which cannot be definitely fixed, but about which we know the most important factor in this process will be education. That the Communist Party of Russia are carrying on an intense educational campaign is well-known by readers of the "I.S." from the many articles by Lunacharsky, Lenin, Bucharin and others reprinted in its columns. However, this educational work for communism is not possible until the proletariat has seized political power. Until then, it must be education, not so much for communism as for revolution, without which communism is impossible.

History shows that the nature of men and women at any particular time is the reflection of the material and economic conditions at that time, and that when these conditions have changed the ideas have correspondingly changed. If this be so, then with the change from capitalism to socialism, there will be a parallel and sympathetic change in the mentality of the people, and it may be necessary that several generations of men should pass away before the realisation practically of communism. But while the capitalist system still lives, the new outlook, the new Communist ideology will be gaining a constantly growing number of adherents from the ranks of the proletariat, and it is absolutely necessary that all those who stand as advocates of working class freedom to base their outlook on the position of the proletariat as that class which can alone give society a new lease of life and replace the current dream-philosophy by one of things and their relations.

THE DYING WORM TURNS. ROB ROSS GETS ANNOYED.

A society paper of Melbourne called "The Socialist" (evidently a printer's error) contains a column ad. for the "I.S." and A.S.P., written by R. S. Ross.

Ross's hysteria is the result of our having criticised a kindred spirit of his, Tom Mann, who like himself has been extremely consistent in keeping out of industry and acting the leech on the working class movement.

Mann was the founder of the V.S.P.—"the Old Show," and his shade still floats through its hall trailing its garment of reaction in its wake, whilst he himself is living on the A.S.E. as secretary; a job that he strained all his revolutionary activities to secure. "Birds of a feather flock together," therefore, naturally Ross takes up the cudgels in his friend's behalf.

However, in thanking Ross for giving us the add. and his compliments, we wish to thank him also for endeavouring to show a clear line of demarcation between himself and us, for therein lies the greatest compliment of all. As to the meaning of his rhetoric, it, like "poor old Bob" himself, is not worth taking seriously; that being so, we say with Beaumarchais:—

"We smile at fools and hasten to laugh at all, lest perchance we should be obliged to weep."

Ronald Munro Ferguson. In an interview accorded by the former, he stated that but for being afflicted with deafness he would have been appointed as Speaker in the English House of Commons.

While sympathising with any individual who does not possess the full use of all his faculties, it is noticeable that deafness is no bar to Lord Forster being given the job of riding on the backs of the Australian working-class, and it isn't a bad job either.

The master class always looks after their satellites and provide cosy nests and high salaries for those who can be trusted to look after their interests; but it is also noticeable that this same master class is not so eager to give employment, even at a minimum wage, to members of the working class, if they are not physically fit in every respect; returned soldiers who have been disabled are begging and seeking for work in all directions, but unless the boss considers they can turn out sufficient profit, they can rot and starve in the streets for all he cares.

It is just the difference of belonging to the working class instead of the capitalist class. When the workers get wise to this they will get busy, not in making profit for a master, but in getting rid of that master for good, and with him such useless offices as that of the Governor-General and the like.

THE A.L.P. APOLOGISES—FOR ITSELF.

Says the "Labor News":—

"Without entering at this moment into any discussion of the merits or demerits of the monarchical system, we desire to express the belief that since man first assumed the erect posture no greater exhibition of cringing, crawling servility and silly snobbery has ever been witnessed than that which has been indulged in by many of the little-minded, lick spittle loyalists of this community during the Royal visit."—26/6/20.

While emphatically emphasising our own often expressed opinion of the "demerits" of the monarchical system, we for once entirely agree with the concluding sentences of the above par.

And it continues like this:—

"Our great fear is that, owing to the nauseating drivell and inconsiderate treatment to which he has been subjected, his Royal Highness may have a recurrence of the "sickness" from which he suffered whilst in Melbourne.

Lest our concern prove correct, on behalf of any Laborites who so far forgot themselves as to contribute to the fulsome foolishness of the general grovel, we desire to offer to his Royal Highness our deep and sincere regrets and apologies."—26/6/20.

And if this is the opinion of the "Labor News," they indeed owe an apology, for the Labor (?) members of N.S.W. have led in the van in their "crawling servility," and fulsome flattery during the visit of the Prince.

Mr. Storey, our Labor (?) Premier is treasuring amongst his most cherished possessions a sleeve link belonging to H.R.H.; Mr. Mutch, Minister for Ignorance, is hoarding up as something sacred the glove which he wore when the Prince shook hands with him, and it is hard to say what absurdities the smaller fry are committing, but we do know that they have been tumbling all over themselves in order to bask in the limelight of the royal presence.

The "Labor News" abuses the capitalist press, but it forgets to add that Mr. Storey and his followers have been endeavouring to gain all the notoriety possible in its columns by flattering the Prince, and talking about his democratic principles, and his popularity amongst the workers, etc.

It is said that a "smile from a Prince is a feed for a fool," and if this is so the Labor members should have provided themselves with bread and cheese for months to come.

But what can we expect?

The Prince stands as the representative of the master class, and the Labor (?) Party, who stand for the upkeep of that class, is bound to fawn and cringe and show him homage.

It only goes to prove what has been so often reiterated before, the Labor Party is not a working class organisation, and stands against their interests.

Perhaps this latest exhibition of their true position

The Collapse of the Second International.

By Nicolai Lenin.

Translated by A. SERNIS,

for the Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow, from whose publication we print.

(Continued from Last Week.)

CHAPTER VI.

KAUTSKY ON THE GRIDIRON.

Kautsky speaks of the "lessons" of the war in the vulgar sense. He presents these lessons in the sense of a moral horror which seizes one at the sight of the calamities of the war. In his pamphlet, "The National State," he argues as follows:—

There is no doubt, and no proof needed, that there exist sections which are keenly interested in universal peace and in disarmament. Members of the lower middle class and small peasants, even many capitalists and intellectuals, are not linked to imperialism by interests powerful enough to counterbalance the harm inflicted upon these sections by the war and armaments (p. 21).

This was written February, 1915! The facts show that a stampede towards the imperialists took place by all the possessing classes, including the lower middle class and the "intellectuals." Kautsky, however, with a self-satisfied air, and acting like a being from another planet, ignores the facts and gives us honeyed words. He judges the interests of the petty bourgeoisie not by its conduct but by the statements of certain men of the lower middle class, though at every step these men refute their statements by their deeds. It is as though we were to judge the "interests" of the bourgeoisie in general not by its deeds but by the lying speeches of middle class priests who swear that the social order of to-day is permeated by Christian ideals. Kautsky applies Marxism in such a manner that it is purged of its substance and there remains only the word "interest," which is used in a supernatural, spiritualist sense, for it is not real economics that he has in view, but merely innocent desires for the general welfare.

Marxism examines "interests" on the basis of class contradictions and the class struggle, which come to the fore in millions of facts in everyday life. The lower middle class dreams and babbles of the weakening of (class) contradictions, and puts forward the "argument" that the intensification of class antagonisms brings in its wake "harmful consequences." Imperialism is the submission to finance-capital of all sections of the possessing class. It means the division of the world between five or six "Great" Powers, most of which are taking part in the present war. The division of the world by the Great Powers is proof that all their propertied sections are interested in possessing colonies, sphere of interest, in oppressing other nations; it is proof that they are interested in places which yield more or less profit, and in receiving privileges which arise out of belonging to a "Great" Power and an oppressor nation.*

It is no longer possible for capitalism to evolve smoothly, in comparatively peaceful, cultural surroundings, and to go on extending by degrees to fresh countries. A new era has arrived! Finance capital ousts, and will oust, a given country from amongst the Great Powers. It will deprive it of its colonies and spheres of influence (as Germany, which made war on England, threatens to do), and it will deprive the lower middle class of its "Great Power" privileges and its subsidiary income. This is a fact which is being proved by the war brought about through an intensification of the contradictions—an intensification which has been recognised by every one, including Kautsky himself in his pamphlet, "The Path to Power."

And when the present struggle, caused by jealousy among the Powers, has become a fact, Kautsky begins to persuade the capitalists and the lower middle class that war is a dreadful thing and disarmament a good thing. He does this with the same manner and with the same result as that with which a Christian priest, from the pulpit, persuades capitalists that love of man is a command of God, a striving of the soul and the moral law of civilisation. What Kautsky terms economic tendencies towards "ultra-imperialism" really amounts to lower middle class pleadings that financiers should do no wrong.

*E. Schulse says that in 1915 the securities of the whole world amounted to £29,280,000,000, including State and commercial loans, as well as mortgages and shares of commercial and industrial companies, etc. Of this sum England held £6,200,000,000, the United States of America about 100,000,000,000, Germany, £23,000,000,000—that is to say, these four Great Powers held £16,000,000,000, or more than one-half of the total. From this we may judge how great are the advantages and privileges of the nations which are Great Powers and which have outstripped other nations by oppressing and plundering them. (Dr. Emil Schulse: "Das französische und die deutsche Kriegswirtschaft," Berlin, 1916, vol. xxiii, p. 127). For the Great Powers, "national defence" is the "raison d'être" in the "Finanz-Archiv," Berlin, 1916, vol. xxi, p. 127. In Russia, as we know, capitalist imperialism is weaker, but feudal militarism is more powerful.

will go to show the workers how hypocritical and false these Labor(?) leaders are, and will lead them to a realisation that the revolutionary movement is the only one which will ever lead to their emancipation, which is the only goal worth worrying about.

What about the export of capital. More capital is being exported to independent countries, such as the United States of America, than to colonies. What about the seizure of colonies? These have all been seized, and they are all striving to liberate themselves. Kautsky says:—

India may cease to be an English possession, but it will never come in the shape of an undivided empire, under foreign domination. (See pamphlet, quoted above, p. 49.) The striving of any industrial capitalist state to acquire for itself a colonial empire, which would enable it to dispense with drawing raw materials from other countries, would unite against itself all the other capitalist states; in addition, it would be drawn into endless exhausting wars without being brought nearer its aim. Such a policy would be the surest way to bring about the bankruptcy of the whole economic life of a State." (pp. 72-73.)

Does not this amount to a vulgar appeal to the financiers to renounce imperialism? To frighten capitalists with the bugbear of bankruptcy amounts to advising members of the Stock Exchange not to gamble, because "many of them lose all they possess." Capital gains and concentrates in the same measure that bankruptcy overtakes competing capitalists or a competing nation. Therefore, the more pronounced and keen the economic competition, i.e., the more others are driven into bankruptcy on the economic field, the stronger the desire of capitalists to drive their national rival into bankruptcy by applying military pressure. The fewer countries there are, like Turkey, to which it is as profitable to export capital as it is to export it to colonies and independent states—these cases where the financier gets a threefold return, in comparison with capital exported to a free and independent civilised country, like the United States of America—the fiercer is the struggle for the subjugation and division of Turkey, China and so forth. Thus speaks the economic theory concerning the era of finance capital and imperialism; and thus speak facts.

But Kautsky turns everything into a banal middle class "morality": "Why," he asks, "should they become so excited and go to war to divide Turkey or to seize India?" "They will not be able to enjoy these things for long. Besides, it is better to develop capitalism according to the peaceful method." Of course, it would be still better to develop capitalism and to expand the market by increasing wages, for such a thing is quite "unthinkable." To appeal like this to financiers would form the best text for a parson to preach from. The good Kautsky almost succeeded in persuading the German financiers that it was not worth while to go to war with England over her colonies, since these colonies would, in any case, soon free themselves! England's exports to and imports from Egypt from 1872 to 1912 rose at a slower rate than her imports and exports as a whole. Where from the "Marxist" Kautsky deduces the following moral:—

We have no reason to suppose that England's trade with Egypt would have increased at a slower rate, under the influence of economic factors alone, without a military occupation (p. 72.) The aspirations of capital after expansion can best be attained, not by the coercive methods of imperialism but by those of a peaceful democracy (p. 70).

What a wonderfully grave, scientific "Marxist"

analysis! Kautsky "has put this foolish episode in the right light," and has proved that the English had no need to deprive the French of Egypt, and that the German financiers had no need whatsoever to begin the war, nor to organise the Turkish campaign, hand in hand with other undertakings, in order to drive the English out of Egypt! All this, claims Kautsky, is a mere misunderstanding. The English have not yet realised that it were far better to give up coercing Egypt and to adopt the methods of a "peaceful democracy" in order to increase the amount of capital exported.

"Of course, it was purely an illusion of middle-class Free Traders," Kautsky argues, "when they thought that Free Trade entirely does away with the economic contradictions produced by capitalism. Neither Free Trade nor democracy can remove them. Nevertheless, it is to our interest to see these contradictions overcome by a struggle assuming such forms as impose least suffering and sacrifice upon the labouring masses" (p. 73).

"Oh, Lord, tell us what is a Philistine?" asked Lassalle, and in reply quoted the well known words of a poet: "A Philistine is an empty gut filled with fear, who hopes that God will take pity on him."

Kautsky has prostituted Marxism in an unheard of manner and has become a real priest. This priest exhorts capitalists to resort to peaceful democratic methods by what he calls dialectics. If at the commencement there was Free Trade and subsequently monopolies and imperialism, then why should there not be an "ultra-imperialism" and again Free Trade? Thus argues Kautsky, the priest, who consoles the oppressed masses by depicting for their benefit the bless-

ing of this "ultra-imperialism," though he is not ready to say whether such a thing is "feasible" or not! Feuerbach was right when he said, in reply to those who defend religion by the argument that it is soothing to a man that such comfort has a reactionary significance, for he who comforts a slave, instead of inciting him to rebel against slavery, lends a helping hand to the slave-owners.

Every class of oppressor requires two social functions to defend his domination—the function of a hangman and that of a priest. The hangman must crush the protests and the revolts of the oppressed; the priest must picture to them perspectives (it is especially convenient to do this without guaranteeing that such perspectives can be realised) of their misery being alleviated and their sacrifices lessened, while leaving class domination intact. Thus are the oppressed reconciled to this domination and led away from taking revolutionary action. Their revolutionary frame of mind is impaired and their revolutionary resoluteness shaken. Kautsky has turned Marxism into a most loathsome and stupid counter-revolutionary theory, and into the dirty sermonising of a priest.

In 1909, in his pamphlet "The Path to Power," Kautsky recognised that under capitalism contradictions were becoming more acute, a fact which is indisputable, and which has been refuted by no one. He also recognised that an era of wars and revolutions and a new "revolutionary period" were drawing nigh. And, again, he declares that no revolution can take place "prematurely," and calls it "downright treason to our cause" if we refuse to reckon with the possibility of victory during an insurrection, though before the struggle has commenced we may realise that defeat is in store for us.

The war came, and these contradictions did indeed become more acute. The misery of the masses increased enormously. The war is dragging on, and its scope is extending, but Kautsky writes pamphlet after pamphlet. Submissively following the dictates of the censor, he quotes no data concerning the pillage of lands and the horrors of war; he mentions neither the scandalous profits of war contractors, nor the high cost of living, nor the military enslavement of the mobilised workers; on the contrary, he consoles and soothes the proletariat by quoting instances of wars when the bourgeoisie was revolutionary and progressive; or when "Marx himself" desires the victory of this or that bourgeoisie. Kautsky consoles the proletariat by quoting whole rows and columns of figures to prove the "possibility" of capitalism, without colonies and pillage, without wars and armaments, to prove that the methods of a "peaceful democracy" are preferable to all others. Lacking courage to deny that the misery of the masses is becoming more acute and that a revolutionary situation has arisen before our very eyes (the censorship will not permit this to be spoken of!), Kautsky cringes before the capitalists and the opportunists by picturing the possibility (though it is impossible to guarantee its feasibility) of certain forms of struggle, in a new phase, when there will be "less suffering and less sacrifice."

Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg are right in having dubbed Kautsky a prostitute (quotes "Maedchen fuer alle.")

In August, 1905, there existed a revolutionary situation in Russia. The Tsar promised a Duma, a la Bulygin, "to console" the seething masses. Bulygin's legislative consultative regime could be termed an ultra-absolutism, if one may use the term, "ultra-imperialism" in regard to the renunciation of armaments by financiers and an agreement between them to observe a "lasting peace." Let us suppose for a moment that to-morrow a hundred of the biggest financiers of the world, whose interests are interlinked in a hundred different gigantic concerns promise the nations to uphold disarmament after the war. (We must make this supposition for a moment in order to follow out to the end the political deductions from Kautsky's half-baked theory.) Even in such a case would it not be treason to the proletariat to counsel it to refrain from revolutionary action, without which action all promises and fine schemes are but a mirage.

The war has not only brought the capitalist class enormous profits and splendid prospects of fresh plunder—Turkey, China, etc.—it has brought new orders running into hundreds of millions and new loans at a higher rate of interest. More than that, it has brought the capitalist class even greater political gains in that the proletariat has been split and corrupted! Kautsky aids this corruption and gives his blessing to the international cleavage in the ranks of the proletarians who fight in the name of unity—a unity which the opportunists of various nations, the Suedekens. Yet we come across persons who do not understand that the war cry of unity amongst the old parties means the "unity" of a nation's proletariat with its national bourgeoisie. Neither do they realise that this form of national unity is based upon the wrecking of the international unity of the world-wide working class!

(Continued next week.)

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The Broken Hill Strike.**THE STATEMENTS OF DR. STEVEN.**

Certain statements in the press in reference to Dr. Steven, need some explanation. We submit the following statements of Dr. Steven made at different times in reference to the health of the Broken Hill Miners.

In September, 1919, Dr. Steven, amongst other things said—

From my experience here I would say that of the miners who have worked in Broken Hill mines from 15 to 20 years, a very large percentage of them are suffering from lung deterioration and a very much larger percentage of them suffer from plumbism (lead poisoning), than the mining companies are prepared to admit. My examination of the miners at the A.M.A. Office some time ago showed that 78 per cent. of those examined were suffering from slight lung consolidation to advanced phthisis. From my experience of other miners I should say that approximately 70% of the miners who have worked for 15 years underground in Broken Hill will undoubtedly show lung deterioration. I am prepared to state that before any tribunal and can prove it by taking miners haphazardly. I think from the size of my practice I am in a fair position to judge the condition of the health of the miners. We cannot minimise it, and it is just as well to face it first as last. I could bring men here in dozens, and if anyone guessed at their ages they would make them ten years older than they are. My percentages of the miners affected have been borne out by the fact that no man whom I reported as suffering from lead has been rejected by the medical referees appointed under the Workmen's Compensation Act. That is a fair criterion as to the correctness of my diagnoses."

You state that from your experience you would say that of the miners who have worked in the Broken Hill mines from 15 to 20 years, a very large percentage of them suffer from plumbism than the mining companies are prepared to admit. Can you give (a) the percentage suffering from plumbism?—"I say that 70 per cent. are suffering from lung deterioration, and 25 per cent. from plumbism."

The above was in an interview with the Barrier Miner in September, 1919. In November, 1919, Dr. Steven said:

"Reluctant though I am to enter into a discussion of the why and wherefore of this prolonged stoppage of work at Broken Hill, I feel impelled to place certain facts before the public regarding a few misunderstandings. The initial fault lies with Mr. W. L. Bailieu." . . . Dr. Steven also said: "First of all, Mr. Courtney (Chairman of Directors of the Associated Mining Companies) says that the statements of the A.M.A. regarding the health of the miners are unbelievable. I now say that in my opinion not less than seventy per cent. of the miners who have worked underground for a period of fifteen years are suffering from a condition of lung deterioration to a greater or lesser degree, and that a percentage of not less than twenty-five are more or less affected by plumbism. Further I am prepared to verify these statements before any tribunal appointed. My report presented last November was based on the results of the examination of a certain number of men, and even then the figures quoted by me are only slightly higher than this last statement."

In June, 1920, Dr. Steven made the following statement:—

Then although your certificates may show a high rate

International**NEWS AND NOTES.****FRANCE.****A Soviet at Roubaix.**

"La Feuille" of April 9th reproduces the following account from Lyons capitalist newspaper of the situation at Roubaix, the great industrial centre, during the recent general strike:—"The Roubaix Soviet, which called itself the 'Inter-Union Committee,' usurped all powers of State. First, just as in Leninist Russia, it suppressed the hostile Press. The 'Journal de Roubaix' naturally was suspended. It was even ordered to take down a Havas telegram it had posted up, relating to the arbitration decided on at Paris. As might be supposed, the Soviet took over police functions. Having ordered and compelled the closing of workshops, it regulated the circulation not only of the trams, but also of private vehicles! The police function goes hand in hand with that of justice. The Soviet carried out domiciliary requisitions; created a tribunal which operated for three days; called before it the blacklegs, who were cited in good and due form; replaced the bourgeois ushers by shop stewards. And it was necessary to answer the summons, under pain of material and immediate penalties against the defendant and his family."

"The Soviet hastened to collect tolls. The vehicles which wandered from Roubaix, ignorant of the fact that that town was no longer under the same Government as the rest of France, had to choose between the payment of a duty or the confiscation of their goods, without prejudice to the transport of tobacco!"

"But, it will be said, what were the municipal police and the gendarmerie doing all this time?"

"The municipal police had orders from the Socialist Mayor of Roubaix not to move. While as for the gendarmerie, it was only at the last moment, in face of the general indignation, that it was decided to bring it into motion."

RUSSIA.**Lenin, the Wonder-Worker.**

According to the New York "Nation" of March 6th, which draws its information from the files of the "New York Times" during the period since the beginning of the Russian Revolution, Petrograd has fallen into the hands of the reactionaries six times, has

of men affected by lead-poisoning or lung deterioration, you say it is not honest to claim that rate as applying to the miner generally?—"That is exactly what I do say. It would be too absurd for me to say that between 70 and 80 per cent. of the men in Broken Hill are suffering from lead poisoning or lung degeneration."

Dr. Steven, challenged by Mr. G. Kerr, president of the A.M.A.—

"I challenge you to meet me in debate, either at the Quadrangle on Sunday night, or at any other time or at any other public place you choose—this week or next, morning, noon or evening. I will prove that everything the A.M.A. has circulated concerning your examinations are true; that everything they have stated to be falsehoods or lies concerning your statements are all that they have been stated to be. I will prove that, not by silly assertions about asserting yourself, but from your own figures, your own certificates, and your own statements made to the A.M.A.—Yours, etc., GEORGE KERR, President of the A.M.A."

The above is exactly as Dr. Steven has made the statements, and we are prepared to allow the public to judge in this matter without further comment.

Australian Socialist Party**NEWS AND NOTES****CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.**

C. E. delegates are reminded that the next meeting will be held on Thursday, July 15th. All delegates are requested to attend.

been burned twice, and twice been in the grip of complete panic. During the same period it was constantly dying of hunger, and revolted against the Soviet Government six times. Lenin's feats are still more wonderful. His Government has fallen 37 times. He has quarrelled and been reconciled with Trotsky five times, has died 10 times, has been arrested 16 times, and has fled 72 times. He has been seen in Germany, in Spain, and on the Lake of Geneva.

HUNGARY.**Keep Fast to Your Weapons, Workers.**

Some Hungarian emigrants have sent an appeal to the "Rote Fahne," in which they point to the terrible happenings in Hungary. They bewail the weakness which led the Hungarian working-class to deliver up their arms, and thus remain defenceless in the hands of the Horthy hordes. They appeal to the German and Austrian workers that, come what might, they should not lay down their arms, far better death fighting in defence of their homes and liberty than to yield and fall victims to the White Terror. The promise of the bourgeoisie cannot be trusted. "Take example by us; look at our wounds—defend yourselves . . . and do not, while still alive, let your weapons fall from your hands."

—"The Call," England

WET WEATHER

On Wet Sundays when no meeting can be held in Sydney Domain, there will be a meeting in the Sydney Branch Hall, Liverpool Street.

PRESS FUND.

We would urge all members and supporters to make an effort and secure subscribers, and also donations to the press fund, in order that we will be able to meet the great increase in materials and continue to publish at 1d. We do not desire to raise the price, despite the fact that we would be quite in the fashion if we did so, but unless comrades give plenty of consistent financial support we will be forced to do so.

The columns of the "I.S.," unlike the numerous other working class papers, have been free from the continuous wail for donations, and we make this appeal very reluctantly.

The increases in our outlay on the past have been met by still greater efforts on the part of our supporters in increasing the circulation, and we are confident that our present difficulties will be overcome in a like manner. Let those who can, send along donations to meet the immediate needs, and let all our readers secure at least one new subscriber, and there will be no necessity for any further appeals.

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